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ABSTRACT

A study evaluated the potential of professionalization strategies for enhancing the occupation of development officers, particularly in higher education. Based on the strength (high or low of the individual's commitment to two variables, namely, the occupation (cosmopolitanism) and the institution (localism), four recognizable development types are identified: the professional, marked by high loyalty to both the institution and the occupation; the careerist (sometimes called a "migrant worker") marked by loyalty to the occupation above the institution; the placebound worker, having little loyalty to either the occupation or the institution; and the booster, marked by high loyalty to the institution and minimum identification with the occupation. Three theoretical perspectives on professionalization in general, from the 1950s to the present, are described: functional, pluralist power, and institutional. Goals, strategies, and tactics commonly used in the professionalization process are discussed, including development of a knowledge base, instilling of a service orientation, organization of national and regional associations, construction of codes of ethics, and introduction of certification, licensing, and accreditation. The benefits and costs of professional skill development and of establishing a theoretical and research base for this and other professions are assessed. It is concluded that while development officers are concerned about their professional image, there appears to be little interest in developing the theory and research base for fund-raising as a mature profession. Includes 27 references. (MSE)

# ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF AN ADMINISTRATIVE OCCUPATION: PROFESSIONALIZATION PROCESSES AND UNIVERSITY FUND RAISING

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# On the Transformation of an Administrative Occupation: Professionalization Processes and University Fund Raising

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Development, the primary occupation of fund raisers, plays an increasingly central role in institutional decision making. Indications of its centrality include the high level of involvement in fund raising by presidents and trustees of institutions, the increasing resources devoted to fund raising, and the impressive levels of salary, status, and involvement accorded to development officers.

Despite its current important place in institutions, development leaders and practitioners view the occupation as vulnerable. Changes in tax laws, government regulations, and negative public perceptions of fund raisers could severely reduce the significant position that development currently holds.

To improve and preserve the status of development so that it has a more secure institutional role, fund raisers aspire to what professions and occupations generally seek: effectiveness and efficiency in the work, control over work and work jurisdiction, and recognition of the legitimacy of the work and those who perform it. The most attractive path to that end appears to many to be professionalization. James L. Fisher asserted in 1985 that advancement (including fund raising) is "accepted at the academic conference table largely out of a pressing need....rather than out of appreciation" for their activities. The key to remaining at that table, he wrote, is for advancement people to define themselves, "more surely as professionals" (1985, p.12).

In the 1980s, development-related associations (Council for Advancement and Support of Education, National Society of Fund Raising Executives, National Association of Hospital Development, American Association of Fund Raising Counsel) led the movement toward professionalization. These associations generated large-scale programs to improve recruitment, training, knowledge, and ethical behavior. During the same period, a number of development related academic courses and programs were instituted in colleges and universities around the country.

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the potential of professionalization strategies for strengthening the occupation of development. The questions are fundamental: How can the occupation maintain its current important role in institutions? What costs and benefits are associated with the quest for professionalization? Can an administrative area be a profession? Can an occupation in which amateurs do much of the technical work be a profession?

Note: The authors wish to thank the Lilly Endowment, Inc. for supporting the research upon which this study is based.

The research is largely qualitative, involving: 1. an extensive review of the literature from the sociology of occupations, organizational analysis, development, and philanthropy, and, 2. interviews with forty development stakeholders. Three theoretical frameworks are employed: functionalism, pluralist power, and institutionalization.

The focus of the study is the general occupation of fund raising, set in the context of the philanthropic tradition. However, since the authors and most of the interviewees are based in higher education, the study is particularly oriented to academic fund raising. However, because the occupational issues and professionalization questions are much the same throughout the fund-raising world, statements and assertions are deemed to be applicable to the general field of fund raising.

## The Work of Development

The everyday work of development consists of planning, research on donors, cultivation, solicitation, organizing staff and volunteers to solicit, providing information on tax laws and methods of giving, recognition of donors, administering the office of development, processing and acknowledging gifts, and other related tasks. These activities are organized around the core task, fund raising, but the concerns of development officers extend beyond this framework. They participate in institutional long range and strategic planning, in relations with external individuals and organizations, and in furthering the mission of the institution.

However, in their work, development practitioners are faced with a series of skill, jurisdiction, and legitimation circumstances that both restrict the occupation and provide it with opportunity. While fund raising is the core task of development, the skills involved are not held exclusively by development officers, but shared with volunteers who are enlisted to do much of the work. Sharing expertise with amateurs considerably weakens the occupation's power to define its work, and establish jurisdictional control and legitimacy.

Other development activities are purely administrative and the result of a division of labor within institutions. Except for the technical aspects of the work related to tax laws and planned giving, much of it could be conducted by another administrative unit. While development officers cannot claim exclusive jurisdiction if other administrators have similar skills, they have the legitimacy attendant to all administrative areas plus a bottom line, measurable standard of achievement that others often do not have.

Development Culture. The sets of deep, sustained values and cultures in which development practitioners participate are often incompatible, and conflicts of loyalty and identification may

result. Fund raisers identify with their own careers, the missions of their institutions and the general ideal of philanthropy in a broad sense. These positions are not always compatible, and fund raisers may experience considerable internal conflict in reconciling their disparate commitments. Since the development occupation is so inextricably bound to the institutions which house it, commitment to a particular institution and to its goals and mission looms very large. Institutions have their own cultures, and successful careers are bound up in the ability to understand, accept, and be a part of an organization's values and beliefs.

At the same time, fund raisers need association beyond the confines of a particular institution. Although identification with a cosmopolitan community may attenuate commitment of development officers to a particular institution, it does strengthen the professionalization aspirations of the occupation.

Figure 1 illustrates combinations of high (+) and low (-) commitments to two variables, the occupation (cosmopolitanism) and the institution (localism). Four recognizable development types emerge from a consideration of an individual's commitments to an institution and/or occupation.

| | | Orientation to Occupation (Cosmopolitanism) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | + | - | |
| Orientation to Institution (Localism) | + | Professional | Booster | + |
| | - | Careerist (Migrant Worker) | Placebound Worker | - |
| | | + | - | |

(Figure 1)

The Professional. High loyalty to both the local institution and the occupation is most desirable but is difficult to achieve in practice, for loyalty to one tends to attenuate commitment to the other.

The Booster. This type has a high level of commitment to an institution, often the one from which the booster has graduated. Identification with the occupation is minimal. The route to development is frequently through the alumni office.

The Careerist. Sometimes called migrant workers, careerists are committed to the occupation, but not to a particular institution. They move often from institution to institution.

The Placebound Worker. This person has little loyalty to either the occupation or the institution. The development office is viewed as a convenient site for employment and for tuition and

other benefits. Any other office in the university would do as well.

Each of the four quadrants in the Figure represents a different concept of the jurisdictional boundaries of the occupation. Each also reaches for recognition of legitimacy within its commitment boundary.

Identification with the institution and not with the occupational collectivity, as in the booster quadrant, narrows considerably the jurisdiction of an occupation. It gives an idiosyncratic character to the occupation. It greatly reduces the autonomy of the occupation, and makes it dependent upon the particular institution in which the booster operates. This is a legitimate commitment for those stakeholders heavily invested in an institution, but it lacks legitimacy for those who are interested in transforming the occupation of development to a profession. Those who are committed to the institution are not interested in the cosmopolitan aspects of the occupation. They do not participate in national association affairs, write for the journals, or interact with their counterparts in other institutions.

The careerist might be viewed as a professional if employed with a consulting firm but a "migrant worker" when employed by a series of institutions. The careerist sees the boundaries of a career much broader than a particular institution or job. Legitimacy in the field of development requires a cosmopolitan orientation but also a large measure of commitment over an extended period of time to a particular organization.

Placebound workers include those who have very low commitment to either the occupation or the institution. They cannot move and are working in the field because they are not mobile and need a local position. They tend to acquire little autonomy, do not rise in the field, and have difficulty in increasing their legitimacy.

Development Careers. Most development officers came into the field accidentally, after having done a number of other things. The vice presidents interviewed in this study had undergraduate majors primarily in the liberal arts. Their graduate majors were in such areas as journalism, engineering, law, chemistry, economics, education, physics, and business. Early work experiences include teaching, business, law, research, and sales. A number of vice presidents for development began their careers in advancement - alumni relations, public relations, or admissions. Career lines in fund raising are problematic so that it is difficult to trace a smooth upward career path.

Development at present is a wide open field, with many positions available and remuneration at an all time high. There is little regulation governing entry to the field. Persons come

from a variety of backgrounds and with little prior applicable experience. While this provides opportunity for individuals coming into the field, it also presents them with a sense of precariousness, for it is not clear what experience, talents, training and expertise they must have to be successful. Our respondents believe that a recruit to the field should have a liberal arts education, some business administration skills, experience in some other administrative position, talent in writing and speaking, and a pleasant personality.

For an occupation in which time spent in one location is viewed as adding considerably to the worth of the practitioner, development currently operates with a high rate of turnover. Thomas found that "17.3 per cent of the positions in the average advancement office changed hands during the year...The highest rate (19.5 per cent) occurred among development offices" (1987, 7-8).

A central concern in development is the socialization and training of new and inexperienced development officers to insure the maximum efficiency and effectiveness of performance, to gain control over the access, composition, and organization of the field, and to gain legitimacy for an occupation lacking definition and enforceable standards of practice. Professionalization is viewed as the overarching mechanism for achieving these goals.

## Definitions and Usages of the Term, "Profession".

Profession is an emotionally loaded word. It can connote strong praise as in, "That person is a real pro," or it can convey powerful condemnation as in, "That person's conduct is unprofessional." To fail to describe an occupation as a profession can be viewed as defining that work as low status and unattractive. At the same time those who receive money in exchange for sexual favors or who steal on a regular basis are negatively termed professionals. Many activities are encompassed by dividing certain tasks between those who work full time and for money (professionals) from those who participate without pay on a part time basis (amateurs). But, in most contexts, most of the time, the term "profession" refers to a high status occupation that commands respect, admiration and trust, is associated with contributing to society's needs, and affording its practitioners comfortable and often high incomes.

Although sociologists have sought to rid the term, "profession" of its powerful normative implications by seeking the "true" characteristics of a profession through objective, scientific studies of occupations, they have been singularly unsuccessful in draining the term of its highly emotional, value laden connotations. Individuals continue to care very much how the word "profession" is used in relation to their occupations.

People wish to have others see their work as significant, attractive, prestigious, and well paid, that is, as professional.

However, the long standing disagreement that plagues discussion of the core characteristics of a profession, strongly suggests that no single definition is presently acceptable to those occupations which would claim ownership of the term or deny others the right to use it. Tne preoccupation with professional definitions stems from a recognition that the "status professions" (Elliot, 72, p.14) - medicine, law, and the clergy (including professoring) have enjoyed prestige and remuneration well above most other occupations. And medicine in particular has been so successful that all definitions of what a profession is have been influenced by what is perceived to be the form and characteristics of that occupation. Much of the study of occupations has been directed toward determining the set of traits that would encompass medicine and differentiate that privileged profession from other occupations.

## Theoretical Perspectives on Professionalization

Attitudes toward professions are ambivalent, reflecting the belief that professions are quite powerful, and that their power can be used for good or evil. So society rewards professions handsomely, while searching for ways to restrict their power. The great rewards that accrue to recognized professions lead many occupations to seek professional status, but it is not easy to be accepted as such. Most occupational aspirants to this status are either ignored or come to be seen as self-serving, non-contributors to society's needs.

Beginning in the 1950s, a variety of overlapping, often contradictory perspectives on professions were generated.

The Functional Approach. This sociological paradigm provided the rationale for asserting that professions contribute crucial services to society and to individuals, based on high levels of expertise and exemplary ethical standards. High status professions, such as medicine, are said to embody ideal traits. The standard functional approach begins with an analysis of successful professions, deciding what their most basic characteristics are, and then applying these traits to determine which occupations, in addition to the high status professions, qualify as professions.

Ideally, low status occupations can become professions by acquiring the traits associated with high status professions. This "trait" approach to professions has spawned many lists that purport to authoritatively inform any occupation what characteristics it has to have to be considered professional. Ernest Greenwood (1962) produced a widely cited list. For him, undisputed professions were said to possess: 1. a theoretical base that (a) produces and supports the skills of the profession

(p.208) and that (b) stimulates "theory construction via systematic research" (p.209), 2. a monopoly of control over the profession's clients (p.210), 3. sanction from the community to control training, entry to the profession and admission to practice (p.211), 4. a code of ethics that regulates colleague relationships and professional/client interaction and, 5. a culture consisting of professional values, norms, and symbols (p.214).

A variant of the trait approach is to determine the stages through which an occupation must go to be recognized as a profession (Ritzer and Walzcek, 1986; Abbott, 1988;Wilensky 1964). Although the stages vary, the assumption is that the destination, professionalization, is the same for any occupation, and arrival at the destination is confirmed by identifying the set of professional characteristics possessed by the occupation.

Functional analysis assumes that effectiveness is a primary goal and that it is achieved as a consequence of acquiring the appropriate traits and/or progressing through the appropriate stages.

Power Approaches: Monopolist and Pluralist. In the 1960s there was a backlash against the functional assumption that professions were universally positive contributors to the well being of society. Books and articles were published that portrayed professions as monopolistic conspiracies against weakly organized clientele and a defenseless public. Professions were accused of using their ethical codes to reduce competition, but not to police themselves or improve services. They were seen as occupations with privileged positions in society which they did not earn, and which they used to their advantage. Their claims to expertise were said to rest on arcane languages and tacit knowledge that simply excluded non-professionals without benefiting them. Professions were portrayed as aiming more for control over work and work jurisdiction than for service as an end (Johnson, 1967; Roth,1974; Larson, 1978).

During the same period, another power approach developed. Pluralists were also concerned with control over work and jurisdiction. However, they viewed professions as less capable of asserting and enforcing monopoly, more vulnerable to internal conflict, and deeply involved in competition with other occupations and professions over control over work and work jurisdiction. Occupations and professions in this approach are not viewed as monolithic structures, but are seen as divided into segments with their own identities, orientations, and definitions of what should be emphasized and rewarded in the work of the occupation (Abbott, 1988; Freidson, 1970, 1988).

Occupations seeking professionalization and professions attempting to maintain or expand their areas of exclusivity do so within a network of similar occupations and professions

attempting to do the same. This means that no occupation striving for professional status can do so in isolation. Other occupations and professions are always major factors in the process, so that jurisdictional questions and disputes are of constant concern. From the pluralist perspective, there is no point at which an aspiring profession can be assured that it has become a profession and that its place in an occupational status hierarchy is permanent. Occupations are not headed for the same necessary destination, nor is the place they occupy at any one time secure. Even the older professions, medicine and law, are viewed as having no permanent, fixed position high in the hierarchy of occupations. Rather, they are viewed as constantly subject to incursions from other occupations upon their control over work, as fighting for favored position in organizations, and as threatened by new technology, the rationalizing imperatives of organizations, and by external forces that upset their claims to safe and stable niches in the panoply of occupations in the United States.

The attempts to professionalize an occupation are characterized by the pluralist techniques of negotiation or bargaining, compromise, coalition building, temporary settlement, trial balloons, and retreats. There is a sense of the fragility of power and of the potential temporariness of control and status in this pluralist orientation. The pluralist perspectives in the study of professions are similar to pluralist approaches to the study of politics. They differ from monopolist perspectives in ways much like the differences between pluralist and elite perspectives in community power structure studies (Hunter,1953; Dahl, 1961).

The Institutional Perspective. The institutional approach emphasizes the concept of legitimacy and the processes by which is it sought, obtained, and used to move an occupation to a higher status level (Scott, 1989; Zucker, 1987). In this study, the institutional perspective is applied to occupations and focuses on the processes by which work is organized for legitimacy and comes to be taken for granted (institutionalized). The institutional view would suggest that non-professional occupations borrow methods and process from established professions to gain in status and legitimacy.

One branch of institutional studies looks to the environment to provide "rational myths" which may be imposed or emulated by an organization or occupation (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; . From this perspective, institutionalization focuses upon isomorphism, the taking on of characteristics approved by strong external forces, as a way of acquiring greater legitimacy, e.g., strategic planning for organizations, professionalization processes for occupations.

The special attraction of an institutional approach is that

it provides an alternative to conventional analyses of professionalization. It deemphasizes the rational, technical perspective which assumes that the sole rationale for seeking to professionalize is to acquire more efficiency or effectiveness. Institutional (and power) approaches emphasize that the most powerful incentives for change may stem from the desire for legitimation and control without any necessary increase in technical effectiveness or efficiency.

The institutional and pluralist power approaches allow us to view the professionalization process, not as a series of traits or stages, that once attained will result in professional status. Instead, the approach here is that the so called "traits" of professionalization may be depicted as a series of strategies and tactics that an occupation might use to obtain authority (power and legitimacy) in relation to its work, its clientele, the public, and the state (Klegon, 1978).

This paper draws upon all three theoretical perspectives on professionalization: functional, pluralist power, and institutional. Each approach provides a concept that can be translated into a goal that every occupation and profession seeks to accomplish. Thus, from functionalism, we derive the concept of traits (redefined here as strategies) and the goals of effectiveness and efficiency. The pluralist power perspective provides concepts of autonomy and occupational segmentation with goals of control over work and jurisdictional control. Institutionalization gives us values and prestige, and the goal of legitimacy.

## Goals, Strategies and Tactics in the Professionalization Process

Strategies and tactics are used to promote the goals of increasing effectiveness, augmenting control over work and work jurisdiction, and increasing legitimacy. While there is no accepted test of how much of an increase is enough, occupations that are successful in moving toward the goals are called and believe themselves to be professions. The ultimate test of successful professionalization is that the appropriate stakeholders and publics of an occupation recognize that occupation to be a profession.

Among the strategies that aspiring professions use are: 1. development of a knowledge base, 2. instillation of a service orientation among members, 3. organization of national and regional associations, 4. construction of codes of ethics, and, 5. introduction of certification, licensing, and accreditation.

The strategies have different positive and negative effects on the goals. That is, some strategies and tactics may be more successful in moving the occupation toward the goals, and some strategies may be better for achieving a particular goal rather

than all three.

Building a Knowledge Base: Benefits and Costs of Three Tactics

The most important strategy for gaining professional status is the development of a substantial, legitimate knowledge base that aids the occupation in progressing toward the three goals: effectiveness, control over work, and legitimacy.

Generating a knowledge base involves the following tactics: 1. developing a set of skills appropriate for improving development's fund raising capabilities, 2. creating a theory base related to the skills, and, 3. the initiation of research that modifies the theory base and improves the skills.

Skill Development: Benefits. Skill improvement speaks primarily to two goals: 1. effectiveness, that is, the ability of fund raisers to increase their capacities to garner more resources, and, 2. control over work and work jurisdiction. There is hope as well that skill enhancement will aid in promoting the legitimacy and status of the occupation. Fund raising is rooted in practice and developing skills is viewed as the major means for improving effective practice.

Competence is highly prized in fund raising, and much effort is devoted to determining appropriate skills and improving them. CASE members, for example, at the 1985 Greenbrier II Colloquium on Professionalism, made a series of professional and training recommendations (Shoemaker, 1985). By 1989, a report was issued that assessed the association's 85 workshops and other programs designed to "educate advancement officers about their profession," and identified "core and professional area knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed of advancement officers at the entry, middle manager, and senior levels" (Edwards, Chewning, Raley, 1989, p.1).

In development there is a strong tradition of learning skills on the job. In mentoring, a senior officer takes a neophyte in tow and is both a teacher of skills and an inspiration. Professional consultants are also primary leaders in the development of practical skills.

The appropriate sites for teaching skills have been the home institution and the national and regional association meetings. In both development offices and association meetings, the teachers are successful senior development practitioners and consultants, and the development officers who benefit the most from skill enhancing sessions are junior development officers.

The control aspect of skill acquisition involves claiming of monopoly of expertise and demonstrating persuasively that only bona fide practitioners can have that expertise. Developing

special skills that others do not possess would enhance development's ability to control access to and organization of the field of fund raising. Significantly, the methods to improve skills and the locations where skill development is likely to take place, emphasize strongly a desire by occupational members to have control firmly in the hands of practitioners.

Development skills are highly prized by the field and training programs and workshops are intended to improve the legitimacy of fund raising through the improvement of skills.

Skill Development: Costs. Claims based on exclusive competence and skill are precarious. The potentiality for needed change through restructuring or innovation is restricted if knowledge of skills and control over instruction is the exclusive property of current practitioners. Unless an occupation has a continuous flow of new ideas and modified techniques from sources that go beyond practitioners, it may lose its connection to changes taking place in the larger institution or the society and become obsolete. National and regional meetings for the exchange of ideas and technical skills are very helpful in providing innovations and fresh ideas, but some means for including abstract, theoretical knowledge is necessary also for the occupation to retain its drive toward ever greater effectiveness.

If skills are performed in relation to a technology, changes in the technology can lead to skill obsolescence. A skill base that remains unchanged over time will be open to rationalization, a process whereby large and complicated tasks requiring judgment and a variety of skills are divided into small, easily learned operations and taught to novices. Such deskilling renders an occupation accessible to anyone seeking a position.

Organizations, such as universities, are prone to what Abbott calls "workplace assimilation" (1988, p.65) whereby those untrained, when called upon to perform tasks, learn quickly some usable version of the skills a profession claims sole jurisdiction over. These non-professionals can then be called upon to perform that skill when no recognized professional is present and the organization needs someone to do the task.

Jurisdictional claims based on expertise are significant, and the CASE Curriculum study, which designates skills, knowledge and attitudes appropriate for entry, middle, and senior levels in the bureaucratic hierarchy, is important because it signals an attempt by those in the field to gain some control over the work, and begins the process of determining bases for training people in the development field. However, many of the skills and attitudes identified as needed for fund raising by the CASE Curriculum Study are already shared by anyone who does administrative work in any kind of organization. Examples include the following: "portrays personal integrity, honesty, and

fairness...is competent in budget preparation, support, and control...possesses the ability to delegate and prioritize issues." (Edwards, Chewning, Raley, 1989, n.p.).

Shared jurisdiction is much weaker than exclusive jurisdiction. Skills, which all administrators might be expected to have, do little to add to the strength of jurisdictional control by development. In addition, professional skills in fund raising must be amenable to teaching and learning. But, like law and medicine, they must be challenging and time consuming to learn. The skills to be learned must also include a place for tacit knowledge, knowledge the practitioner possesses, that is understood from experience, rather than explicitly taught.

A preoccupation with skill development, important as it may be, combined with a neglect of theory construction and research, will be costly to the occupation. As Robert Carbone accurately points out, "If...an occupational aspires to be recognized as a 'true profession,' competence cannot be its predominant concern. ...Competence is not enough" (Carbone, 1989, p.7).

Creating a Theory and Research Base: Benefits. Creating a theory base that is changed by research, and a research base that is informed by theory is considered by many students of the professions to be the most important tactic in the professionalization process. Abbott, particularly, stresses the significance of scholarly, abstract knowledge as the most important means of obtaining and maintaining a competitive position among professionals (1988). Theory and research are so important that one of the major bases for distinguishing established professions from non-professions is to characterize the former as theory and research based and the latter as theory-less.

An occupation with sufficient abstract knowledge and a research agenda related to the theory has a flexibility that allows it to respond to both its environment and its ambitions. According to Abbott: "Any occupation can obtain licensure (e.g., beautician) or develop a code of ethics (e.g., real estate). But only a knowledge system governed by abstractions can redefine its problems and tasks, defend them from interlopers, and seize new problems..." (1988, p.9). For example, fund raising might claim jurisdiction that could include all external affairs and other administrative arenas.

The generation of basic theory adds greatly to occupational control. Although the work of fund raising by full time people is shared with amateurs, with a theory and research base in the hands of professionals, the distinctions between professional and amateur can be more sharply drawn, and fund raising could have a greater ability to define and defend its work boundaries. If the theory base changes through research and is tied to practice, the

attenuation of control through rationalization is discouraged.

Jurisdictional battles are serious. They can be won and lost. For example, alcoholism as a problem has been variously defined as legitimately within the jurisdiction of lawyers, clergymen, and medical doctors. It has thus been defined as a legal, a moral or a medical problem. The battle for jurisdiction through defining the problem has been fought with theory and research, and medicine clearly, when it decides to focus on the problem, has an edge in claiming jurisdictional control.

Theory and research can enhance prestige and legitimacy. Engineers who apply their abstract engineering formulae to the concrete activity of building bridges are identified as professionals. The construction workers who actually build the bridges are in an occupation which is not theory and research driven. Without a dynamic changing theory and research base, an occupation is considered a static enterprise, trapped in its own rigidities, and not a profession.

The development of theory and research find their most natural homes in the Academy. Teaching and learning theory seem to be best accomplished by formal courses in universities and colleges taught by professors who make the field their scholarly interest. Professors who teach a subject matter area are usually the most committed to doing research and theory building in that area.

Housing teaching and learning and theory and research generation in the Academy adds considerably to the legitimacy of an occupation. Programs in universities attract scholars and students and provide the possibility for controlling entry into the field. They may also increase the legitimacy of the occupation to the outside world.

Building the Theory and Research Base: Costs. The distance between theory and practice is often large, and every professional field tends to be impatient with the apparent lack of direct payoff in terms of increasing effectiveness through research and theoretical efforts. Research on donors, research that increases statistical knowledge, research on practical matters generally are all viewed positively by our respondents. Practitioners are interested in and encourage research that provides information that appears useful to increasing the flow of funds to the institution. However, if the research is of such a practical nature it may have little salience in the Academy.

Problems may result even when programs are housed in the Academy. Theory construction is a basis for academic reward giving, and is therefore highly competitive. Theories of fund raising, if constructed and disseminated in the academic milieu, will be judged by the tough competitive standards of university

scholarship and efforts to emulate other successful academic fields in theory building and methodology may draw scholars in the field away from theory and research needs as defined by practitioners.

Housing knowledge generation in institutions of higher education requires that a different kind of fund-raising professional be added to the field: the professor, who specializes in research and theory building whose home is an academic department and not the development division. However, professors not only have their own reward structures and values, but tend to follow their own research agendas, which may be perceived as providing little to serve the needs of practitioners. A central characteristic of the world of professions is the structural conflict between scholars and practitioners that threatens the solidarity of whole fields of endeavor. For example, the split between academics and practitioners is so severe in psychology that it has divided the national association in two.

Efforts to gain legitimacy in the Academy are problematic. Student affairs has all the formal attributes of a thriving field of administration housed in the university structure. There are courses, majors, degrees, theory generation and research agendas with professors working full time on the subject matter. And it has had these attributes for more than forty years. Yet, it is a field which has not yet gained the status and legitimacy it desires. (Bloland, P., 1988; Penney, 1969; Stamatakos, 1981)

Application of one strategy - development of a knowledge base - to enhance effectiveness, control, and legitimacy, demonstrates the extraordinary complexities involved in moving toward professionalization. Each of the three tactics associated with the strategy of developing a knowledge base raises questions of who is responsible and where it should be done. An analysis of the potential for professional status requires a similar review of the implications of the strategies of a service orientation, code of ethics, and licensure, for their impact on the goals of effectiveness, control and legitimacy. Each strategy raises questions about the locus and nature of the responsibility for its implementation.

## Summary and Conclusions

This study is concerned with fund raising as an occupation and with professionalization as a series of strategies by which it can reach its goals of effectiveness and efficiency, control and legitimacy. A review of the three current major perspectives on professionalization, functional, pluralist power, and institutional, indicates that each of the three orientations can be employed to achieve the primary goals in the professionalization process. Traits, derived from functionalism

are viewed as strategies used to professionalize, and the most important professionalizing strategy, generating a knowledge base, is analyzed in terms of its three significant components: skill development, theory generation and research. Each strategy has benefits and costs which must be considered in terms of its implications for furthering the basic goals of the occupation.

Most fundamentally, fund-raising officers are concerned with their effectiveness and legitimacy in their institutions and among their publics. They believe their present position is precarious. They see their present relatively high status as dependent upon current demands for income in a time when many other sources of income have leveled off or been reduced. They fear that unrealistic demands will be made upon them concerning the size of capital campaigns in the future.

There is also considerable anxiety about the image that fund raising presents to the world, but there is consensus that the image is far better than it was 20 years ago. Development vice presidents see their position as enhanced or protected primarily in terms of whether they are able to secure continually increasing resources. Therefore, they are quite eager to increase their organizational and fund raising skills, but are far less interested in augmenting their theory and research bases. Skill enhancement through workshops and courses conducted by senior practitioners and consultants is viewed by practitioners as the most useful means for training new entrants to the field. At the same time, there is concern that there are few opportunities for senior practitioners to enhance their skills.

Although there is considerable interest in professional status in the fund-raising occupation, it is primarily the association of professionalization with legitimacy that interests fund raisers. Fund raisers do not see development as a mature profession even as they see themselves as professionals. Fund raisers do not focus upon the relationships between professionalization and the occupation's control over work and work jurisdiction, nor do they see a connection between bottom line effectiveness in fund raising and the generation of theory and research. There is little interest among practitioners in the creation and support of university graduate programs and graduate degrees in fund raising, philanthropy or related areas, but strong support for on the job and association training programs.

Recognition by the appropriate stakeholders that an occupation has become a mature profession is difficult to acquire. It involves aiming for high levels of effectiveness, control over work, and legitimacy. All three of these goals are worthy of pursuit even if the desired level of professional recognition is far in the distance. This paper has presented and analyzed what is involved in the professionalization process for development, and what might be gained and lost in undertaking the

strategies and tactics necessary to pursue professional status.

Only the members of the occupation of fund raising will decide how far and in which ways the pursuit of professionalization will take place. This paper is intended to help clarify the pathways to a more fully informed and rationally articulated plan for enhancing the status of fund raising.

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Appendix 16

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